

CIA HISTORICAL REVIEW PROGRAM
RELEASE AS SANITIZED

2003

~~SECRET~~

APPENDIX B

I. Arbenz Material (obtained by Station from [])

A. Documents: Communist books, magazines, newspapers, pamphlets; Foreign Ministry documents concerning the "June Days;" questionnaires put to Arbenz by Army and press; an offer of sale of planes and arms by a Genoa firm; a brochure on Agrarian Reform; a study of the 1936 U.S.-Guatemala Commercial Treaty; documents concerning the formation of civilian militias. (See brochure of documents prepared for Director's use before NSC).

B. General Character of the Documents

1. The above cited Communist books, etc. constitute a substantial Marxist-Leninist Library. Included are works of Marx, Lenin, Stalin, Mao Tse-Tung, Malenkov; copies of Cominform journal; Soviet and satellite magazines and books. (Photographs of this material were taken). Items of special interest:

a) A copy of the Report of the Secretary General of CP Guatemala, Jose Manuel Fortuny, to the Central Committee of that Party (16-17 February 1952) bearing the handwritten inscription:

"To the young and exemplary President of Guatemala, Jacobo Arbenz, with the deep affection of his friend —

Jose Manuel Fortuny"

b) Two copies of Fortuny's Report on the Activities of the Central Committee of CP Guatemala (11 December 1952); one copy of the Statutes of CP Guatemala (FCP); and a list of books available at the local Communist bookstore, Libreria Futuro. Also, two envelopes marked in pencil, "For Jose M.F." (probably Jose Manuel Fortuny).

c) Three copies of the short biography of Stalin published in Moscow. One bears a handwritten dedication to Arbenz' wife:

"To Maria Cristina:

The lofty example of the great should inspire us with optimism.

Matilde Elena Lopez
December 27, 1952".

~~SECRET~~

- d) A specially-bound edition of two of Mao's theoretical works, "On Practice," and "On Contradiction." Name of "ARBENZ" is stamped in gold on cover. It bears a handwritten inscription:

"To Colonel Arbens, the two basic contributions
of Mao Tse Tung to universal Marxism,

Matilde Elena Lopez
24 December 1953"

It was also accompanied by a calling card of Matilde Elena Lopez bearing a handwritten inscription:

"Colonel Arbens:

I am placing in your hands the two basic contributions of Mao-Tse-Tung-To Universal Marxism, and other important materials concerning Agrarian Reform in China. -- I want to talk to you to explain my plan for a Monograph on Agrarian Reform in Guatemala which will gather together, in clear and simple form, all that has been accomplished. I am awaiting your invitation since you said some time back that 'we should have a visit' Your health! (illegible notation: probably Lopez' initials). December, 1953."

The "other important materials concerning Agrarian Reform in China" to which Lopez referred were apparently a typed copy of the Spanish-language "The Law on Agrarian Reform of the People's Republic of China" (Peking: Foreign Languages Publishing House, 1950), which contains, in addition to said law, a report by Liu Chao-Chi on Problems of Agrarian Reform, and the Statutes of Organization of the Peasant Federation.

2. The questions put to Arbens, 5 June 1954, by the Army General Staff concerning Communist influence in the Government, and:
- a) a typed list of answers to Army questions.
 - b) four and one-fourth legal pages of advice on how to answer the questions. (The author is clearly a GP member -- very probably, Jose Manuel Fortuny).

~~SECRET~~

3. A brochure on Agrarian Reform containing a decision and "related documents":
 - a) Report by Isador Lubin, U.S. representative before the Economic and Social Council of the UN.
 - b) Statements by Secretary Acheson
 - c) Speeches by Willard L. Thorp and Henry G. Bennett
 - d) Resolution of the Economic and Social Council of the UN.
4. The page bearing the Table of Contents is annotated:

"Publications of the Department of State of Washington, D/C. — United States of America.

Translation by the Office of Foreign Information of the Ministry of Foreign Relations of Guatemala."
5. A discussion of the U.S.-Guatemala Commercial Treaty of 1936. Gives need for changes; possible action U.S. might take if treaty were denounced by Guatemala; and action that Guatemala could take to counteract the effects of the U.S. action.
6. A letter "to the Government of Guatemala, Guatemala City," from "Industrial and Technical Advisory Service," Genoa, Italy, dated 28 May 1954, referring to "previous correspondence" and offering for sale airplanes, submachine guns, and rifles. The planes were DC-6s, Consolidated Vultees, and DC-4s. The arms were from an Italian arms factory for which the writers were "sales delegates;" the arms would be supplied from a Swedish port.
7. Foreign Ministry Material
 - a) Documents: Cables (open and decoded) to and from Foreign Ministry, letters and memoranda of the Foreign Minister and Guatemalan Ambassadors; related materials.

~~SECRET~~

b) General Character of the Documents:

- 1) Telegrams and memoranda dated May-June 1954 from Guatemalan Ambassadors in Central America concerning movements of elements of the Army of Liberation and attitudes of the various governments.
- 2) A letter from the Honduran Foreign Ministry, 7 June 1954, declining to sign the additional friendship and non-aggression pact requested by Guatemala.
- 3) A copy of a letter 14 June 1954 from Foreign Minister Toriello to Minister of Government Augusto Charnaud and MacDonald, protesting against police outrages in Guatemala against a group of "honest and respectable" people.
- 4) A copy of General Lazaro Cardenas' Expression of Support of Guatemala (29 May 1954) and of Toriello's Expression of Thanks (31 May 1954).
- 5) Memorandum of the Guatemalan Ministry of Foreign Relations, 24 May 1954, rejecting a claim for \$15,854.69 against the Government of Guatemala, made by the U. S. State Department in the name of the United Fruit Company. Rejection is based on the Agrarian Reform Law.
- 6) A Guatemalan Foreign Ministry memorandum, undated, (apparently from G. Toriello to President Cecilio of El Salvador, sent by Toriello via his friend Salvadoran Ambassador to Guatemala, Col. Jose Alberto Funes) praising El Salvador's fine attitude toward Guatemala in its hour of need, and asking that El Salvador employ its good offices to create a similar attitude on the part of Honduras; specifically, to put an end to the provocative acts of Guatemalan exiles which are being performed with the knowledge and "patience" of Honduras.

~~SECRET~~

7) A file of the Guatemalan Foreign Ministry containing a resume, for the President, of (open and decoded) cables sent by the Foreign Minister to the Guatemalan Ambassadors to El Salvador, Cuba, Washington, Costa Rica, Honduras, Panama, Ecuador, Colombia, Brazil, Chile, Argentina, and Bolivia, alleging the falsity of the U. S. State Department declaration that the Guatemalan Government had received a shipment of arms from Poland. Messages also cited U. S. efforts to call consultative conference of American States to "intervene" in Guatemalan affairs, and urged Ambassadors to win support Guatemala.

8) A blind memorandum containing notes "For a Conversation with Willy Toriello" (Guillermo Toriello, Guatemalan Foreign Minister). Notes urge practical steps to strengthen Guatemala's position in world public opinion in the face of U.S. criticism. The notes were clearly written by a person with special knowledge of high-level Mexican diplomatic/governmental affairs. Numerous steps are urged to win Mexican support of Guatemala. The notes recommend activity on the part of Arevalo and others. The aim is to win the support of the countries to which special emissaries are assigned--or at least to "neutralize them somewhat."

8. Communications directed to President Arbenz

a) Decoded telegram from Arevalo in Santiago, 31 May 1954, recounting pro-Guatemalan sentiment and Congressional action in Chile.

b) Telegram from a Departmental Governor, 18 June 1954, stating:

"Revolutionary (i.e. pro-Arbenz) political parties need arms. Enemy troops advanced via Shupa, Caparja, and Lela. We await orders. Urgent."

c) Memorandum 28 May 1954 from Jaime Rosenberg, Chief, Guardia Judicial, advising the President of the presidential aspirations and anti-Communist activities of a Deputy for the Department of Izabal.

~~SECRET~~

- d) Memorandum, 31 May 1954, from Rogelio Cruz Wer, Chief, Guardia Civil, urging cancellation of the visas of Guatemalan delegation to the anti-Communist Congress held in Mexico during May, 1954.
- e) A letter dated 3 April 1954 at the Hague by (quite apparently) a top Guatemalan diplomatic representative at Bern. It treats of the author's delay in obtaining data desired by the President; the printing of a 200-page brief (subject matter not stated); praise of Guatemala's firm stand at the Caracas Conference; and the author's desire to return home.
- f) Letter dated 23 June 1954 to President from Jaime Rosenberg, Chief of the Guardia Civil, transmitting a copy of the statements given by captured crew members of the ship, "Siesta", which arrived at Puerto Barrios loaded with arms and military supplies. Also included is the statement of a Guatemalan who was awaiting the shipment in Puerto Barrios and who signaled the ship upon its arrival. A memorandum note is attached to the top of the letter; the note points out that "all the persons mentioned in instant report were executed," except for a few who were hospitalized with serious wounds.

(The foregoing does not constitute a complete, itemized list. The Arbens documents are being photographed and the originals and one set of prints will be returned to the Station).

II. Communist Party (PGT) Headquarters, 7 Calle #2-22, Guatemala City.

- A. Premises: Old dirty one-story building with seven offices.
- B. Documents: Numerous papers scattered about on floor, on desks, and protruding in disorder from desk and cabinet drawers and shelves. Stacks of propaganda material.
- C. General Character of Documents:
 - 1. Lists of CP departmental, section, and cell officials, organisational chart, membership books.
 - 2. Cases of expelled (or disciplined) CP members.

~~SECRET~~

3. Internal CP correspondence and Party-organ subscription lists.
4. Propaganda material — handbills, newspapers, books.

(Note: The foregoing constitutes but a general appraisal, based on a very brief survey. A minute, lengthy examination of the copious material, paper by paper, may produce documents of a higher order than those cited. This observation applies equally to other premises and documents described herein.)

III. CGTG Headquarters, 9 Calle #10-171, Guatemala City.

- A. Premises: Old, dirty, two-story building. About 50 rooms occupied by the CGTG proper and affiliated trade union federation and unions.
- B. Documents: Thousands of papers scattered about in great disorder, in addition to some CGTG correspondence notebooks still bound in good order.
- C. General Character of Documents:
 1. CGTG correspondence-notebooks, in good order, on relations with WFTU, CTAL and some affiliated trade unions, especially peasant unions.
 2. Thousands of scattered letters, handbills, etc., of a routine trade union correspondence nature.
 3. CGTG propaganda material (and equipment) — handbills, newspapers, booklets, pamphlets, wall-posters.

IV. Frente Universitario Democrático Headquarters, Avenida Simeon Canas #5-38, Guatemala City.

- A. Premises: Old, dirty, one-story building with c. 6 rooms.
- B. Documents: Hundreds of letters, handbills, pamphlets, etc. scattered about on the floor of two rooms.

A pile of half-burned letters, etc. (as above) in a patio; fire apparently put out by rain falling into patio.

~~SECRET~~

C. General Character of the Documents:

1. Circular letters from the WFDY.
2. Local letters re student-political affairs and personalities
3. Propaganda materials -- publications of WFDY, local "youth" handbills, pamphlets, newspapers, booklets.
4. A small pile of miscellaneous, routine peasant-federation records (left-over from previous tenancy).

V. Files and Documents Maintained in Room at Headquarters of the Guardia Civil, Guatemala City (Seized by the Guatemalan Army).

A. Documents: Six 4-drawer file cabinets, several drawers (removed from desks), three small cabinets containing addressograph plates, and small stacks of Communist propaganda material.

B. General Character of Documents:

1. The six file cabinets contain correspondence and records of the SAMF (R.R. workers union affiliated with the CGTG) and the Sociedad de Seguro Social del Granio Ferrocarril (SSSGF).
 - a) Five of the cabinets are of little interest; they contain files which deal with industrial accidents and insurance-policy dossiers.
 - b) One cabinet is of moderate interest; it contains folder on the SAMF's relations with the CGTG, GTAL, WFTU, and some unions in Mexico and Central America.
2. Loose file and desk drawers contain miscellaneous SAMF and SSSGF correspondence, stamps, and pamphlets.
3. Two small cabinets containing addressograph plates appeared to pertain to the SAMF or the SSSGF; other small boxes of addressograph plates belonged to the peasant confederation (ONCG).
4. One box contained photographs of what appeared to be trade-union meetings, personalities, and Soviet-worker scenes (propaganda).
5. The Communist propaganda material consisted of Soviet and Guatemalan magazines, pamphlets, and handbills. (A stack of copies of the Moscow magazine, "Union Sovietica," bore wrappers addressed to The Libreria Futuro in Guatemala City.)

VI. Material Made Available to Station by Col. Ruben Gonzalez Sigui,

~~SECRET~~

A. Documents: Two sacks of books, magazines, pamphlets, and notes.

B. General Character of Documents:

1. The material consists, in very great part, of routine Communist books, magazines, newspapers, pamphlets, and handbills.
2. The most interesting and useful material consists of 3-ring notebook sheets listing CP Guatemala (PGT) officials, outstanding figures, key addresses, trade union leaders, names of anti-Communists, Communists who have traveled to Soviet orbit and Red China, leaders of other pro-Arbenz Parties. (Note: This material may be the notes of a non-Communist).
3. Mimeographed documents of the CP Guatemala relative to the statutes and program of the Party.
(Note: Col. Gonzalez Sigui also made available a list of over 1900 arrested Communists).

VII. Additional Material from Col. Ruben Gonzalez Sigui
Received 7 July 1954 (Seized by Guatemalan Army).

A. Documents:

1. Telegrams (and typed abstracts of telegrams) apparently from the files of Augusto Charnal MacDonald, Minister of Government.
2. Telegrams from peasant federation (CNOG) affiliates to CNOG headquarters. (Possibly passed on to Ministry of Government).
3. Abstracts of telegrams sent from Departments (State, Provinces) to President and apparently passed on to Minister of Government.
4. Copies of censored cables of New York Times correspondent (Kennedy).

B. General Character of the Documents:

They reflect:

- a) Expressions of support of the Arbenz regime, during the hectic, critical June days, on the part of departmental governors and peasant affiliates of the CNOG.

~~SECRET~~

- b) Statements by peasant unions (affiliated with GNOG) re readiness to defend the regime with arms against the "imperialist invaders".
- c) Expressions of alarm, confusion and disbelief regarding Arbenz resignation.
- d) The determination of censors to keep the outside world from knowing about the fears of the government and the populace.
- e) Brief notices re planes sighted.
- f) Accusations of disloyalty (to Arbenz) on the part of certain provincial officials.
- g) Notices of various peasant uprisings.
- h) Pledges of support of the Arbenz regime on the part of the PRG.

VIII. Material Located in Office of Miguel Angel Mendizabal, Chief of the Guardia Judicial and Retained in the Office of the Director of the Guardia Civil (as of 10 July 1954).

A. Documents:

- 1. A small cardboard box filled with CP Guatemala documents and membership books (obtained by Mendizabal at CP headquarters in early July 1954).
- 2. A list of foreign "Marxists" who have been in Guatemala (with local addresses).
- 3. An alphabetical list of Guatemalan Communists (over 400) with local addresses.
(Note: Copies of items 2 and 3 were obtained for Station files).

B. General Character of the Documents:

- 1. The CP documents were mainly concerned with the Department of Guatemala; they list departmental officials; they are useful.

~~SECRET~~

2. The membership books did not belong to prominent Communists but they are useful for indexing and possible operational use on short-term basis.
3. The lists of foreign "Marxists" and Guatemalan Communists are of use; the latter is of use as an arrest/search list.

IX. Documents pertaining to former Chief of Guardia Civil, Regelio CRUZ Wer (Obtained through Station channels).

- A. Documents: Four police-type reports to CRUZ, dated in 1952-53 re "subversive" activities.

B. General Character of Documents:

1. One report, dated 11 December 1952, cites the activities of Guatemalan emigres (along the Honduran border) who were making contact in Guatemala with "Reactionaries." Unconfirmed information indicated that Col. Carlos CASTILLO Armas was among the emigres. Surveillance of the emigres was recommended.
2. Another report, dated 27 June 1953, cited activities indicating an invasion of Guatemala backed by the United Fruit Company.

X. Documents Obtained from the Palacio Nacional through Col. Jose Luis CRUZ Salazar (Then a member of the Junta).

A. Documents:

1. A study dated in January 1952, of the manner in which banana production and marketing could be handled in the event the United Fruit Company should withdraw from Guatemala.
2. A list of the personal expenditures of President Arbenz' wife, from February through July 1952. (Total: \$15,323.19).
3. Memoranda and correspondence directed to President Arbenz' wife, as President of the Institucion de Comedones y Guarderias Infantiles (IOGI), concerning trade union activities relative to same and concerning the withdrawal of a Communist woman from her post in the pertinent trade union. Also, a memorandum from the Communist woman to Jose Manuel FORTUNEY, Secretary General of the CP Guatemala, concerning the same subject matter.

~~SECRET~~

XI. Documents Pertaining to Alfonso Martinez (Chief of the DAN, as of Arbenz fall). Obtained through Station sources.

A. Documents: Miscellaneous letters, receipts, certificates, memoranda, etc.

B. General Character of Documents (A few items of possible interest)

1. Martinez' Army papers reflecting his military training and activities.
2. Certification by Jose Manuel Fortuny, as Secretary General of the P.A.R. (December 1947) that Alfonso Martinez was an active member of the P.A.R.
3. Letters certifying (1948) that Martinez was engaged in carrying out a confidential mission abroad for the Guatemalan Government and instructing Guatemalan diplomatic representatives to provide necessary facilities. Also, receipts, bearing various names, for money received from Army for confidential missions. (Of interest in connection with reports of Alfonso Martinez' participation in the purchase of the notorious arms shipment, i.e., papers indicate a background for "confidential missions" for the Government.

(Note: As previously indicated, certain of the documents mentioned in the foregoing general notes, were brought back for briefing purposes; they are being photographed and returned to the Station).

~~SECRET~~